

The University of Chicago

CHANGES IN RURAL FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1937

By

HORACE MITCHELL MINER

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Reprinted from
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
Vol. XLIV, No. 3, November 1938

The University of Chicago

CHANGES IN RURAL FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1937

By

HORACE MITCHELL MINER

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Reprinted from
THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
Vol. XLIV, No. 3, November 1938



CHANGES IN RURAL FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE

HORACE MINER

ABSTRACT

French-Canadian culture is losing its folk nature even in the rural regions. The culture shift is toward urbanization and anglicization. The change is evidenced in an altered economy—a shift from practical economic independence to dependence upon the factories and markets of Canada and the United States. The culture context of English words borrowed by the French indicates the greatest diffusion to be of technical and mechanical items, clothing, and business concepts. The French-Canadian family system depends upon many children for its proper economic functioning. These children were once absorbed by the rural culture itself, but land pressure has forced non-inheriting offspring into industrial cities. The isolation which maintained the old culture is being broken because of the structural needs of the rural society itself. These internal problems have also created a new marginal economic type living in the rural regions by government road work, peddling, or some special skill. This group is not well integrated into the old culture patterns based on a farming economy. A declining birth-rate in response to the same problem has been almost offset by reduced infant mortality. The adjustment of the rural culture is not yet made, but the effects of the attempted adjustments are evident.

French-Canada has only recently begun to attract the interest of students of society which its peculiar cultural conditions would seem to merit. The interrelation of French and English in Quebec has been indicated with special emphasis on the urban situation.¹ It is the purpose of the present discussion to consider the nature and mechanics of culture change among the rural French-Canadians who are not bilingual and who have no direct contact with the English.

The actual field work for this study was carried on in St. Denis, one of the longest-settled parishes to have maintained its traditional nature.² The first settlements on the lands of the parish were made around 1680, and several families have been on the same lands for nine generations. The parish maintains its old economy based on general agriculture without marked crop specialization. There are no English residents, even in summer. Still, in every phase of life in St. Denis one finds culture changes which have come about in the

¹ Everett C. Hughes, "The French-English Margin in Canada," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIX, No. 1 (July, 1933), 1-11.

² The field period covered eleven months in the parish, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, for which the writer desires to express his gratitude.

last one or two generations. The rural French-Canadian culture has changed more in the last forty years than it did in the preceding century. An intimate analysis of the parish social structure showed the direction of these changes and also indicated the reasons for these altered folkways. Here we shall devote our attention explicitly to the problems associated with this breakdown of old traditions and the diffusion of urban traits into the country.

The social organization of the rural French in Canada is losing its folk character. Folk songs have lost their place in the life, and folk tales no longer have their old appeal. Folk medicine is giving way more slowly but the doctor and public health nurse are making inroads. Many of the old culture traits are so closely allied to the thrifty, close family economy that they have resisted change to a remarkable degree. Thus, flax is flailed, wool is spun and woven, and clothes are made from this local *étouffe*. The family bread is baked in outdoor ovens. The soap is made in great cauldrons.

Some of the traits have resisted change but there are many signs of alteration. Every farm has its threshing machine. All wool is carded at a mill. Some clothing is bought from the store and by catalogue, and city fashions have local social value. A baker passes through the parish twice a week. Soap is bought in some quantity from the local store and lye for home soap production is no longer made. These trends are toward industrialization and urbanization—toward the acquisition of city manners. The reason for the change is not simply the proximity of the urban culture to the rural, nor is the change to be understood simply in terms of rising standards of living, for the standards of the day-laboring families have declined.

Fundamentally the culture shift is toward increasing dependence of the local society upon the great industrial civilization of which it is becoming a part. The old social structure, its sanctions and mores, were based on an independent, self-sufficient farming economy. With the exception of a very few items obtainable in trade, all an individual's needs were satisfied through locally practiced techniques and locally produced materials. As long as this local independence was maintained there was no concern about social or economic conditions in the rest of the world. This self-sufficient economy was

made possible by a family system which provided adequate *mains d'oeuvre* to feed and clothe the *habitants* without the use of farm machinery. Such tools and simple equipment as were necessary were made locally. This economy and family system were structurally dependent upon a continual supply of new land upon which surplus children could be established. New France provided these conditions for over two centuries.

During the settlement and expansion period the rural parishes were not dependent upon a money economy. The money which was used consisted of currency of half a dozen different countries.³ If a man wanted to buy a *carriole* he could use either crop capital or the money into which it might have been converted. Transportation difficulties favored money exchange in preference to barter in kind over any distance. But the large cities were easily accessible only to a few parishes. The remote parishes had less use for money as their inhabitants never got to the city. Even commerce with the itinerant peddler was often in kind.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, young men were forced to go farther and farther afield to find land on which to settle. In those times rural sons were rarely given advanced education as there was not the capital with which to train boys for professions. New settlements, such as that around Lac St. Jean, absorbed some of the new generations. The movement was toward more and more marginal land. The shift from a self-sufficient to a dependent economy is best understood in terms of this increasing land pressure. In other words, the basic human geographic conditions upon which the social structure was built were being altered through the operation of the social system itself. The changed land conditions in turn created problems in the society, which was based upon specific geographic requirements, and the society changed to meet the problems.

This suggests another consideration in the study of cultural integration. Not only must the degree of integration within the society be considered but also the degree to which the culture is adjusted

³ Words used in referring to the present standardized currency reflect the variation existing well past the conquest. *Piastre* and *sou* are used for "dollar" and "cent," and *trente sous* carries the connotation of its old equivalent, "twenty-five cents." The term *louis* has died out only in the last fifty years.

to its habitat.⁴ If this adaptation of the society to the environment is bad in terms of the immediate economy, the integration of purely social elements based on the economy will be weak. If the adjustment is poor from a long term view, the integration of the purely social elements may be of a high degree for centuries.⁵

French-Canadian culture was one which had a high degree of internal social integration based on a short-term adjustment to the environment. It took two centuries for the weakness of the territorial adjustment to appear. The problem having arisen, the society has tried to adjust itself, to integrate itself more adequately to its environment. In so doing, it has seized upon elements of American social environment, in contrast to the purely physical environment on which French-Canadian culture was once founded. The growing dependence on this new and unstable environment has made the culture subject to the vicissitudes of an industrial culture whose own integration is very weak.

Land pressure alone created the structural problem in the society, and accounts for the necessity for change and some of the actual changes; but an even greater amount of change is only indirectly related to the basic structural problem. The growing lack of land forced parents to seek other outlets for their children. The society was experiencing trial-and-error behavior in an attempt to find a solution to its problem. The conflict between the old patterns of establishment and the lack of land was a gradually growing one. There was no sudden disruption of the traditional ways—only an increasing attempt to find other ways. All of the new ways involved dependence upon the industrial civilization surrounding the old culture. The diffusion of elements of material and nonmaterial culture from the cities to the country has been a feature of this growing dependence of the latter on the former.⁶ Good unsettled lands being rare, one way of placing children was to educate them or to buy farms

⁴ The former has been designated as internal integration, the latter as external integration.

⁵ Such cases would involve some exhaustion of the local habitat.

⁶ A unique feature of diffusion from industrial society is the concerted effort of this type of culture to inject its material culture into the borrowing society—the attempt to “create a market.”

from farmers willing to move to more marginal land. These two simple possibilities implied basic social changes. Each necessitated capital in money. The only way to secure such capital was to sell produce to the cities. Traditional modes of agriculture did not furnish a surplus of produce. Agricultural methods were changed in order to develop a surplus. These changes were aided and abetted by representatives of the urban industrial society which was to absorb the surplus. Primary among the changes was the adoption of simple farm machinery: harrows, mowers, binders, and small threshing machines. Crop rotation was also introduced. These innovations made possible the development of a crop surplus. The raising of animals for market was less dependent upon outside factors other than the market, but crop surplus made the feeding of more animals possible. The crop and animal surplus did give the farmer money with which to establish his children, but he had lost his old independent economy and had become dependent upon items of material culture which he could not produce but had to buy with part of his surplus. Even more vital, the placement of children now became increasingly dependent upon the fluctuating market from which the farmer got his money. He is now doubly dependent upon the cities, not for the support of his family—for the old economy did that—but for the placing of his children.

About the same time that these changes in agricultural method were being effected, another outlet was found for unestablished children. This was in industrial and urban employment. The need for workers in these places caused the great emigration of available farmers' children from the country to cities in the United States and Canada. This new form of economic establishment completed the solution of the structural situation produced by the exhaustion of available land. It will be noted that this solution, like the others, was based on a new type of environment—a social rather than a physical environment. That this new environment was unstable, as the old one had not been, was discovered with the economic depression. Farmers might lose one crop a century from adverse weather, but never was their whole economic basis destroyed as was the case with the farmer's sons in the city. This outlet for children did not diminish gradually as the land had done, but closed

almost at one blow. The market for crop surplus also fell, and investments, another feature of the new economy, were lost. Still, the *habitant* suffered less than almost anyone else in North America, for he had clung to a great deal of his independent economy. Inbred conservatism had kept him from one-crop farming. Households could still be fed and clothed no matter what industry did, but the *habitant* was faced anew with his old problem of providing for the establishment of his children. The society's adjustment had failed. Rural French-Canada is in this structural conflict position now.

Before discussing the recent social responses to the problem, let us consider what the change from an independent to a dependent community is doing to the culture. The loss of stability resulting from the shift in economy has already been noted. An alteration of social values has resulted from this change. In the old culture pattern a young man aspired to have a farm like his father and therefore modeled his behavior after that of the farmers with whom he would eventually completely identify. Now a large part of the youth knows it can never farm and that it must find work in the city. The values of this group are increasingly influenced from the city. Urban ways have definite value to these young men, for the closer they can identify with the city, the better is their chance of success there. The old culture patterns are sufficiently strong to keep young women from going to the cities in search of work as men do. The old patterns are not strong enough, however, to keep such a girl from desiring such work, finding it through relatives and friends instead of personal search, and going to the cities to fill positions. The movement of women into urban employment is less than that of men. In order to compete for the men with city-turned eyes, rural girls are adopting city fashions and customs. Thus, urban values are becoming important for the girls also. If the young people oriented toward the city came from a different group of families from those oriented toward the country, one might find the development of two groups differing in styles and customs. Members of both of these groups actually belong to the same families. There is then, because of family solidarity, a diffusion of city ways among even the rurally inclined youth. Still, those young men whose dress and behavior are most strikingly of city origin are men interested in

getting to the city. There is a separation into two groups of families whose interests are different as suggested above: the landed and the nonlanded or day-laboring families. The very limited economy of this latter group tends to repress the tendency to adopt urban modes.

In addition to these factors influencing change of values, it must be remembered that a number of the adult farmers and *rentiers* spent several years in cities in the United States. This breaking of the isolation which continued the old culture has had its effect. Even a short time spent in the industrial centers resulted in altered values in spite of the fact that much of the old life was continued in these cities. The change in mourning customs is best understood in terms of this return movement from the cities. The diffusion of urban ways received its start through these various channels. The growth of literacy and the introduction of the newspaper, radio, and advertising have maintained and developed the consciousness of the value of the city manner of doing things. The diffusion of these patterns has but started, having been restricted by the close family economy. The loss of isolation through increased social mobility of all sorts has set up conditions of social contact through which cultural diffusion is possible. The forced change to a dependent economy has motivated the acceptance of new culture patterns.

The adoption of the urban elements makes the local society dependent upon the urban centers to maintain its new mixed culture. The new traits are altered to fit into the old culture pattern. This alteration in the process of diffusion is the usual thing between any two cultures. When the difference between the cultures is great, the two contexts into which a single trait is put vary considerably. Even when the difference is as slight as this between two "western" cultures, there is alteration of borrowed traits in adoption. The fact that the English play croquet gives the game class significance when borrowed by the French. A knowledge of bridge is likewise a mark of sophistication. Borrowed food ideas derive social significance from their origin and become "company" dishes in many cases. The new association of the culture trait does not always depend upon the larger English-French or urban-rural context. An electric motor may be mounted on a spinning-wheel frame, giving a very

novel yet natural combination of new and old culture elements. A harmonica player adopts the foot-patting technique and the repertoire of the fiddler. The harmonica slips into the culture pattern of the violin. New combinations of new elements are made and become established as proper. Spats worn over rubbers are practical in keeping melting snow from running down into the shoes. This combination is generally accepted by the young men as the proper way of wearing these articles.

The old cultural background is capable of reacting to these new borrowed elements. Cultural needs are now usually met by borrowing. Before this was possible, the local culture was capable of producing its own answers to its needs. Naturally these answers were new traits—but local ones based on the local culture. Necessity gave the *platée* accepted meaning as a unit of measure on a par with any other. Curved roofs developed naturally from the straight ones, galleries from raised porches. New weaving designs and *boutonné* bed covers grew from older, simpler manners of weaving. The new traits, however, which are entering from without are based on a foreign background and are, therefore, dependent upon the outside culture for development. The threshing machine was at first run by windmills, then by horse treadmills, now by gasoline engines, and there is talk of electric ones. Each of these steps was originated outside the parish. The farmer adopted the changes in time, although the lag in adoption of traits often lasted long enough to bridge one of the steps. With each step he became more dependent. At first he needed only elements with which he was familiar: wind and horses. Then he had to buy gas and soon will be paying for electricity. He is becoming more and more dependent on the products of the outside world. To accomplish this he has to sell an equal value of local produce, thus putting himself in relation with a consumer market over which he has no control. When he was independent he had control of all the economic factors which affected his life.

Possibly no single technique is as useful in indicating the type and origin of culture borrowing as the analysis of borrowed words. The basic tenet of such a study is that words which are borrowed

are adopted because of their association with borrowed traits of material or nonmaterial culture.⁷ An analysis of words, therefore, will indicate the nature of the more concrete cultural diffusion which took place. The application of this technique to the body of English words in use in French-Canada does point out clearly the nature of the diffusion. As the culture traits typical of the industrial city are here associated with cities dominated by English and Americans, the linguistic diffusion indicates not only anglicization but urbanization as well. Of the seven hundred basic English words in use in Quebec, only half are current in St. Denis.⁸ The remaining half are known in the cities but not in the country. The list of words known in St. Denis is exclusive of any knowledge obtained in the schools. It may be said that practically no English words get into the vocabulary through this source. Farmers in the parish who have worked in the United States have a wider knowledge of English words. The native is unconscious of the fact that he is not employing a French word in the majority of cases. English words associated with technical things, particularly vehicles, and with clothes and business and correspondence, are most familiar. This indicates greater contact with these objects and concepts. Also remarkably well known is the English vocabulary related to politics and government.

Returning to the structural changes in the society which brought about the conditions favorable for the diffusion of urban traits, the developments of the last generation brought to a head by the depression are important. During the decade ending in 1931, 49 per cent of the 406,800 persons who moved from rural to urban dis-

⁷ A simple illustration is the use of French words in English to refer to culture traits associated with food and its preparation and service. The words were adopted from France along with the actual *cuisine*.

⁸ N. E. Dionne's *Le Parler populaire des Canadiens Français* (Quebec, 1909) includes 945 words of English origin. This list contains duplications which have been eliminated to obtain the list of seven hundred words. Variations in pronunciation (marshmallow and *mâche-mâlo*) and derivatives of the same stem (*grocerie*, *groceries*, and *groceur*) have been excluded. This basic list has been only slightly augmented in rural regions since 1909, although in that year the percentage known in the country was much less than now, as the major contact has been since then. Borrowing has always been greater in the cities where there is more contact. New words not included (*zippeur*, radio, *gaz*) are largely associated with innovations in technical material culture.

tracts in Canada were in Quebec.⁹ The net rural-urban movement for the decade in the province was 19.2 per cent of the whole rural population in the province in 1921. During the decade the farm acreage in the province increased only 1.09 per cent and the number gainfully employed in agriculture but 3.8 per cent. These figures show conclusively what was becoming of the farmers' noninheriting children.¹⁰

With the practical closure of the urban outlet, which is even now very small, attempts are being made to accomodate the rural surplus through the opening of new lands in the province.¹¹ According to the superintendent of colonization for the Canadian National Railroad, there are 75,000 young men in the country who are potential settlers. This number is augmented each year by 8,000. If all possible lands were opened with government aid, they would amount to 150,000 new farms.¹² This would obviously constitute but a short-term answer to the problem.

The only other solution to the structural situation besides new outlets to land or industry is to cut the native birth-rate. This possibility is strongly opposed by the church, which plays a vital role in the rural parish. The birth-rate in the cities is falling rapidly in response to the same problem, but in the country the old culture has not been disrupted to the same extent and the traditional sanctions are stronger. Even the rural regions show a decreased birth-rate only in part owing to increase in unmarried population. The decrease in rural birth-rate lags behind that of the province. The decreasing death-rate in the country, owing largely to lowered infant mortality, is keeping pace with that of the province. Combining these two rates we find that the rate of natural increase in the coun-

⁹ Jean C. Cameron and W. B. Hurd, "Population Movements in Canada, 1921-1931: Some Further Considerations," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, I (1935), 222-45.

¹⁰ This is an old movement. In 1881, 77 per cent of the population of Quebec was rural. Only 37 per cent was rural in 1931 and the actual rural population had hardly changed. Quebec Department of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce, 1936 *Statistical Year Book* (Quebec: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1937).

¹¹ There is inertia on the part of both French and English toward the settlement of western Canada by the French. The problems presented by French-Canadian Catholic minority enclaves are distasteful to both groups.

¹² Speech of M. Lanctôt reported in the newspaper *L'Action catholique*, April 5, 1937.

try has remained much more stable than the decreasing rate for the province.¹³ The small decrease in rural birth-rate is almost offset by the decrease in death-rate so that the population pressure remains the same.

The present configuration of the general social organization of St. Denis shows what changes have been wrought by this internal pressure. The broadest social divisions of the parish are shown schematically in Figure 1. The circle represents the entire local community. The various divisions designate roughly by their area the part of the population included therein. The arrow accompanying the circle represents prestige, the greater prestige position being at the top. This section, marked A, includes all those persons who are socially so far removed from the society

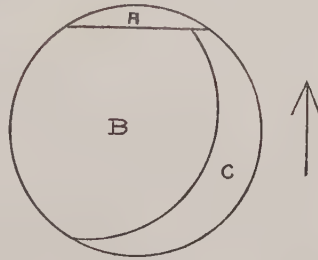


FIG. 1

of the parish that they do not carry on normal social life with the other parishioners. If they do attempt it, there is a distinct feeling of strain or lack of ease. The section includes the *curé*, his relatives, the relatives of past *curés*, and the senator and his family and relatives. These persons do not owe their position to anything within the immediate society. Their position is due to the contact which they have had with the world outside the parish, from which sphere they have received recognition far higher than anything the parish can give. It is equally clear, therefore, that persons can move from the sections below to that above. It would be quite possible for the son of a family below the line to go away to college and receive

¹³ From Quebec Department of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce, 1921 *Statistical Year Book* and 1935 *Statistical Year Book* (Quebec: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty):

RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION	KAMOURASKA COUNTY		QUEBEC		CHANGE OVER 16 YEARS	
	1919	1934	1919	1934	Kam.	Quebec
Increase.....	21.03	19.82	19.66	14.70	-1.21	-4.96
Birth.....	36.27	29.90	35.04	25.30	-6.37	-9.74
Death.....	15.24	10.08	15.38	10.60	-5.16	-4.78

the necessary recognition. Any professional man would probably enter this class. Because of the outside contact of this group, their manner of living, social graces, and behavior are foreign to the parish.

The section of the circle marked *B* includes all the owners of farms. Prestige in this group is a matter of wealth. This prestige is a very weak affair, however, as it is never a block to free social contact between the farmers' families. Family and political lines are much stronger than any benefit derived from possession of wealth. A poor relative of a fellow partisan is far better company than a rich political opponent of an unrelated family. The prestige is thus weaker than other factors and may show itself only in marriage preferences. It is true, however, that the families at the top of the section will more likely be able to give their children the advantages which would lead to their qualifying for the upper sector. The parish is so small that the chance is slight that they would return to it once they had made good outside. Section *B*, therefore, may be visualized as broken up into family and neighbor cliques. These cliques are almost constant from one generation to another and run from top to bottom of the section of the diagram and include also individuals in *C*.

The crescent *C* includes all the nonfarmers. As has already been pointed out, this group lives exclusively in the village. It includes the *rentiers*, day laborers, banker, small tradesmen, gardeners, and the like. They also have prestige according to wealth, those at the bottom being less religious. There are several families of peddling, trading do-nothings, who are so low socially that they are not welcome in the homes of other parishioners. The position of part of the crescent in the figure at the very bottom indicated this situation. They are poor, dirty, hard-drinking, lying, stealing, and frequently do not even grow a garden. At the top of the crescent are the banker-carpenter, merchant, blacksmith, etc. In this section the type of household varies, as it includes bachelors, old maids, and childless couples in addition to the usual form of households. There is a tendency for movement from the farming *B* group into the nonlanded group. Sons who cannot be established may join the day laborers or craftsmen.

So far as recognition of prestige with parish public office is concerned, people in the top sector are not elected to these positions.

Everyone knows they are actively interested in the parish and, in truth, they have done more for it than any others. They are actually too big for positions on the church or school boards, or on the council or for the position of mayor. These offices are bestowed on persons from both *B* and *C* who are not identified with the bottom of their sectors.

In the very early days of French-Canadian settlement there was only the division between *A* and *B*. The *curé* and *seigneur* and his family were distinguishable from the *habitants*. There was less reserve between the two groups under the pioneer conditions than later when life was less rigorous. The upper group once farmed whereas today they do not. The longer-settled parishes soon attracted tradesmen who made a living from their specialized work. They constituted the first persons of section *C*. They differed from the farmers only in their economy. Their other modes of life were identical. This was the situation up until the internal population pressure began to make itself felt as the result of lack of outlet. Unestablished sons began to settle in the village and earn a living by odd jobs and day labor. Unmarried and married persons of both sexes accumulated enough money to become *rentiers* in the village. These people expanded the nonlanded population of the parish. In contrast to the families of tradesmen, their households were unlike those of the farmer. The poorer day laborers sometimes adopted illegal and immoral practices to live. This at once isolated them from the rest of the parishioners. The traditional and religiously sanctioned ways of life were insufficient to provide a living for these people. Along with the breaking of traditions and disregard of religious sanctions there developed a disrespect for those sanctions which opposed the ways of life of these day laborers. This marginal economy group came to be looked down upon by the rest of the parish. This feeling developed from and further emphasized the asocial behavior of the few families. Their change of attitudes and the extent to which they ignore the social controls is illustrated by their abnormal behavior. Not only do they carry on local illegal liquor traffic but they indulge in prostitution and produce the parish's illegitimate children. Their weakened religious faith is expressed in lack of confession and communion and irregular church attendance.

Turning to the day laboring group as a whole, their marginal economy finds expression in the beginning of an interest in methods of birth-control. In terms of their economy, itself, its difference from that of the farmers creates an open rift in the parish on questions of public works. A recently proposed highway through the parish is acclaimed by the nonlanded group who see in it the opportunity for road work. The same road finds disapproval among the farmers. Their lands will be severed, their springs filled, and their pastures isolated from watering places. The dissension over such a project arises directly from the growth of this new population type which in turn arose from forced location in the parish. The problem of economic placement has changed the unified nature of the parish and has weakened the effect of the social controls on the new part of the population. These effects are most obvious in the second generation nonlanded parishioners who have been oriented into such life since childhood.

Except for the larger cities, such as Quebec and Montreal, there have developed no distinctive urban-rural dissociative attitudes. The French population of the smaller towns and cities is drawn to so large an extent from rural regions that the family solidarity precludes the possibility of "rube" and "city slicker" attitudes. Every urban French-Canadian has close relatives in rural parishes. Should the urban outlet remain closed for several generations, one might expect the growth of such attitudes. At present the rural clergy tries to maintain the old traditions by attacking city values, but the social necessity of these values to farmers' sons even weakens confidence in the church.

The analysis and history of the social structure of St. Denis have brought into relief the interdependence of the various parts of the society. The present changes in customs and attitudes are not to be perceived in terms of any single factor. They are, rather, the result of the operation of a definite form of social configuration in a particular socio-physical environment through a series of historically determined contacts. Neither structure nor environment nor chance can explain the changes involved. The study of St. Denis has demonstrated interrelations which show that true understanding is distorted by the omission of any of these factors.

